304 852 [412 302] Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of Tagant and Hodh.

291 855 [556] Children go around naked until they are five or six years old, depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 857 [462] The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels, which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 869 [212] Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 [145] 291 [431] /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

882 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

•868 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

[534] Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and [212] most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534 The amzad is made
237 of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

551

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Ekníssi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tamerouelt, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle /
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

854 The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haïk, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" ⵜⴰⵡⵍⵉⵡⵍⵜ (from the verb "eouilaouel" ⵉⵡⵍⵉⵡⵍ , to swing).

857 While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task.

[492 868] Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari (racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" ⵜⴰⴽⵓⴱⴰ (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (alouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
● 868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

857/121 cont./ cheetah, which was working forward at a crawl,
868 the gazelle sensed its presence and leaped away. Here is where the cheetah pounced, see how deep the prints are; he leaped five times but could not catch the gazelle, which was a large male." The young Targui raises his head and shows his joy in learning that the gazelle was saved, for after his lightninglike leaps the cheetah could not outrun the gazelle. "But you," says the slave, "when you have a rifle, you will approach the gazelle as the cheetah did, against the wind, and you will not miss him.

"These pretty patterns on the dune are the work of the khanfous. /122/ This morning he went back in his hole under that rock. Be careful in lifting the stone, for the khanfous often is the slave of the scorpion; it is even said that he is the scorpion's father. Be careful when you see that track there, it was made by the viper; let's follow it.... Here's where it ends in that cluster of chabrok. Get a rock," the old servant says, "I'm going to set the brush on fire." The chabrok crackles as it blazes, and soon the hiss of the reptile is heard as it leaves its hole, numbed. The child strikes; this is his first hunt.

In this way the desert reveals its secrets each day. That green line ending in a red point there on the rock is "matarter," the poisonous lizard. He nods his head up and down, as if he were saying a prayer to the sun. He must not be touched, for his bite is like lightning. The large dob, covered with scales, whose enormous tail is armed with spikes, will be a toy for the child who catches it, provided he is not bitten, for the dob never lets go, and the finger would have to be amputated. If by luck the young Targui has captured a female, he can eat her eggs, a treat for the children. "The stomach of the dob was full of water," he remarks to his slave. "That
[825] is because it's Friday, and the dob only drinks on Friday," says the latter. "Even if there is no water about, even if it doesn't rain, each Friday God sends the dob his ration. When

857 /122 cont./ you want to keep a dob to play with the next day,
868 tie him with a cord, but never put him in a sack that has held dates or sugar, for he would die."

857 Living in constant contact with nature, the young Targui
868 comes to know its secrets; each of his observations teaches
825 him; he is curious about everything that lives and moves about him. His slave, who follows him, protects him, and loves him as a father, explains everything he sees with the words and images of a simple soul, embellishing the old themes of the country. "The black and white bird following us, flying from rock to bush, is 'moula-moula.' You must not kill him, because he brings good luck to those he escorts; besides, he is a messenger -- each time he comes close to you and cheeps, he wants /123/ to tell you a friend is coming, or warn you about losing something, or alert you against a viper crawling toward you. 'Moula-moula' knows all, and he tells it to men, but you must understand his language; there are many in the Ahaggar who understand his messages. You must learn to speak 'moula-moula.'

"The other day you were afraid when you heard the huff of that big lizard you wanted to catch to play with as with a dob; it was a uran. It has a thin tail, but it is more dangerous than the big tail of the dob. When a uran lashes a man, the mark stays in his flesh forever, and it is not good for a Targui to capture a uran, for it is said that a uran was the uncle of the first mother of the Tuareg. That is why it gets mad when one of its own people makes fun of it. On the other hand, it is afraid of the Negroes and runs from us, because it knows that we eat it. Don't try to catch a uran; I once knew a Targui who wanted to go against the custom. It was a summer day in the middle of the Tanezrouft; he caught a uran, put a cord around its neck, and tied it to his camel. He got down and let go the bridle of his mount -- for what reason, I do not know -- and at that moment the uran lashed the camel with its tail, making it trot off at great speed. Still whipping, the

857 /123 cont./ uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.
[264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

539 /124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore, tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

539 /137 cont./ under the eyes of the bandits, who regarded with stupefaction the man who, having hewn a piece out of the mountain, defied them from the vantage point of the breach.

Thus ends this story of Elias. Others concerning this hero must exist, but they are buried in men's memories.

One may still admire Elias' exploit: the breach in the [823] Adriane is a landmark of Tamanrasset, and the boulder that was hewn from the mountain rests eight kilometers from there in the In-Zaouen wadi, where it has remained planted, a reminder of the hero's valor.

852 Thus, observing nature, listening to the old stories, the
304 young Targui grows up and forms his opinion. At the age of six or seven years, he undergoes circumcision: "agadam." The relatives gather for a big meal on this occasion.

857 From the women, the young boy learns to sew cloth and
●868 leather. He makes toys from old rags; these are usually camels in stylized forms, sometimes having real artistic value. Toy in hand, he races with his comrades to see whose camel is the swiftest. Girls and boys alike make dolls dressed in the Tuareg style; they play camp, paying visits, drinking tea, and striking camp. The young boys carve greatly stylized camels on flat stones or on goat jawbones cut in two.

A favorite amusement consists in mounting an ass and making it gallop, which is not accomplished without numerous falls in the beginning. However, it is the camel which haunts the child; his father has /138/ already let him ride for a circle around the camp, but the little boy wants to be master of his own mount, to guide it across the fallen rocks of the nearby mountain, then to break into a fast trot on the plateau bordering the wadi but not beyond, for he would be seen from the camp and would risk a severe scolding for having taken a camel to amuse himself. Nevertheless, his parents know how it is, for they did the same thing themselves when they were young, but the "canoun" must be applied.

857 /138 cont./ When, by chance, the camp is near a guelta, the child may frolic in the water, the favorite summer sport.

857 If two large camps are near each other, joint games very soon are organized. Sometimes a kind of hockey is played
526 with a leather ball stuffed with goat's hair. The ball is hit with a cudgel taken from a tahla; sometimes, to the delight of the spectators, hand-to-hand fights break out, with the first of the two antagonists to fall to the ground being declared the loser. As the children get excited, veritable battles take place between the two camps; it is war. Sticks and stones enter the game; trickery and force are used. The battle stops at night or when the first child is hurt, but custom requires that nothing be said to the parents, above all nothing of the origin of an injury; the child who did that would lose his honor, and parents are so slow to understand!

857 The little girl prepares for her task as mistress of the house at the side of her mother. She sews in collaboration with the
● 868 women, who never work individually. She is taught how to cut fine leather thongs and how to plait them; while she works she is taught the traditions of which she must be the fierce guardian later on, as she often will have to recall them to the men, who, always on the move, have a tendency, through lack of use, to forget the true Tuareg "canouns."

868 During their play, the children learn tifinagh writing from the older ones; they trace words in the sand, then phrases. But it is in the evening before bed that their mother will give more precise lessons in spelling the words they have acquired. Thus, gradually, /139/ the child learns to read and write his language; he will never have great facility in it, but that is due to the difficulty of the method of writing.

868 Every Targui knows the mnemonic aid for remembering
211 the letters of the tifinagh alphabet; it is the following phrase: "Fatimata oult Oghanis, tagueltenit mraou issen edssedis; tedjehenet ouart thouadia," which may be translated: "Fatimata, daughter of Oghanis, whose bride price (to be paid) is 16

868 /139 cont./ horses; no one may touch her ribs." As a matter
[911] of fact, many of the letters are not found in this phrase, but it is a good enough reminder.

Among the imrads the young boy, from the age of ten, accompanies his father to the Sudan or to the Amadror saltworks. In this way, little by little, he acquires knowledge of the trail. The noble remains at camp longer; by listening to the discussions of his elders he becomes acquainted with the art of command.

884 Gradually, the young Targui begins to wear the veil, at first using an old chèche /scarf/, which he tries to arrange in the proper fashion. At the age of fifteen he will put on the taguelmoust /blue veil/ for good during a celebration; he
[431] will take part in an ilougan /tournament/ mounted on his own camel, the gift of his godfather, or on a borrowed animal.

On this occasion he receives gifts, a takouba /sword/, a taguelmoust, or a takamist /a kind of gandurah worn on festive occasions/. He is now a young man. The girl officially takes
[881] her alechou /shawl/ at the time of puberty; she also receives gifts: the alechou, clothes. She is made much of. Now she is considered to be a woman. Until now she did not speak before the men, maintaining a shy attitude; now there is an end to that, everyone obliges her to talk and to conduct herself as a lady of the house.

Boys and girls who have assumed the taguelmoust and the alechou may thenceforth attend meetings of the adults, but they do not speak except when asked a question.

The occupations of the young people are practically the same as those of the adults. The girls help with cleaning the tent, mend clothes, and make leather bags; among the imrads, they milk the cows.

/140/ The young man begins to travel alone and tends the camels. If he still amuses himself by fighting with his friends, he no longer fences with the takouba, a practice in former times.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 563 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 604 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

Age		*Colour*	
10	*ilĝad*, or *chêt awêtay* (one year old)	10	*tibeydeĝin* (white)
10	*tihusin* (2 years old)	10	*tiilaŋin* (mahogany)
10	*teḳḳenifadden* (3 years old)	10	*tizeggeŋin* (reddish)
10	*tiruyar* (4 years old)	10	*tibhawin* (reddish brown)
10	*chêt essin* (5 years old)	10	*tilemlaŋin* (grey)
10	*chêt okkoz* (6 years old)	10	*tizerifin* (metallic grey)
10	*timesseḍas* (7 years old)	10	*timenŧelin* (dark grey)
10	*chêt tahalt* (8 years old)	10	*tikewelin* (black)
20	*tireggamin* (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10	*tizerŋafin* (piebald)
		10	*tiwinaŋin* (white cornea)

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]